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ABSTRACT

In this paper are examined the psychological and emotional development of black children. The argument is that developmental schemes built for one set of people are lacking as a model when used to analyze the development of a set of different people. Man is both "a situated" and "an accumulating" being. He develops in the context of situations made up of various encounters with people and things. These prior encounters structure subsequent encounters. As a situated-accumulating creature, each individual develops his own unique life style and personality. Freud and Erikson are somewhat limited in explicating the development of black children because their theories focus attention on the "situation" rather than the "accumulating" aspect of development. Stated more concretely, the meaning of being black has been the most important developmental crisis for black people--not the relationships with mothers, fathers, or siblings. (Author/SB)

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BLACK CHILD DEVELOPMENT: A NEW APPROACH

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INTRODUCTION

Child Development theories that turn on the notion of sequences draw heavily from the work of Freud and Erikson. These scholars argue that all normal men pass through an orderly set of universal sequences from birth to adulthood. Most of, if not all of, this development comes in the context of the family, specifically in the encounter between child and mother. Erikson states the case:

> The healthy child if halfway properly guided, merely obeys and on the whole can be trusted to obey inner laws of development, namely those laws which in his prenatal period had formed one organ after another and which now create a succession of potentialities for significant interaction with those around him.

In this paper we examine the psychological, emotional development of Black children. Our argument is that developmental schemes built for one set of people are lacking as a model when used to analyze the development of a set of different people. Further, man is both a situated and a accumulating He develops in the context of situations made up of various encounters with people and things. These prior encounters structure subsequent encounters. As a situated/accumulating creature, each individual develops his own unique lifestyle and personality. This is to say, a Black individual is embedded in his history, thus both time and space affect his develop-

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Encounter is used to denote interactional sequences, meetings, conflicts and contentions between groups which overflow with significance and affect the individual strongly in either a positive or negative sense.

ment. He grows continuously. Liypen, the phenomenologist, confirms our thesis as he writes: "In every presence there lies a now present retention of a former presence (past) and a now-present protention or anticipation of a future presence." John Hope Franklin, from another perspective, writes, "The survival of varying degrees of African culture in America does not suggest that there has been only a limited adjustment of the Negro to the New World situation. To the contrary, it merely points up the fact that he came out of an experience that was sufficiently entrenched to make possible the persistence of some customs and traditions. . . ."

The historical benchmarks, then, of Blacks can't be dismissed from a developmental schema of Blacks. Consequently, Freud and Erikson are somewhat limited in explicating the development of Black children because, for them, the major encounters come from within the context of the family and, more specifically, in the relationship between child and mother around the issue of sexuality (with its focus in adolescence). This is to say, focus is placed by them on the situation but little or no attention is paid to the accumulation.* Thus, our thesis of man as both a situated and an accumulating creature engaged in encounters.

A Brief Look at Erikson and Freud

Both Erikson and Freud move from a fixed perspective. Their stages of development are:

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* Erikson in Identity: Youth and Crisis seems to recognize as we are suggesting, the importance of the effect of man's social accumulation on his growth and development.

Freud	Erikson
Oral	Trust vs. Mistrust
Anal	Autonomy vs. Shame
Phallic	Initiative vs. Guilt
Latency	Industry vs. Inferiority
Adolescence	Identify vs. Identity Diffusion
Genital	Intimacy vs. Isolation

Underlying these stages are two notions: (a) the most significant encounters for the developing human organism are in the area of sexuality, and (b) each significant encounter/ stage (undergirded by sexuality) constitutes a developmental crisis that needs resolution if desirable behavior is to result.

This issue of sexuality is tenuous. As Maslow suggests, a developmental theory of "normal" children cannot derive from a study population, such as Freud's, designated as "neurotic." Further, while sexuality is perhaps an important, developmental crises, history suggests that other issues, e.g., survival, meaning of black, et al, are of equal import as developmental crises for Blacks. That is, these issues have a comparative advantage over the issue of sexuality. What were and are the significant encounters that generate developmental crises for Blacks that need resolution? Are these developmental crises similar to or different from the developmental crisis of whites children when the concept of man as a situated/accumulating creature (dynamic/different) is used as the defining construct? Stated differently, is

the crisis for a Black the discovery, that he cannot have his mother, found in the phallic stage, or is it as Andrew Billingsley suggests, the discovery and teaching of what being black means in white America? We contend it is the latter.

The literature on the effect of skin color on black children is well documented. It culuminated in the Brown vs. Board of Education (Clark and Clark, 1939) ruling of 1954, and has been documented since by the work of Grier and Cobbs, 1968; Coles, 1964; McDonald, 1970; Ausubel, 1958, Clark, 1970; and Goodman, 1964. We contend that the meaning of being black was and has been the most important developmental crises for Black people--not the relationships with mothers, fathers or siblings. Robert Coles quotes one elderly Black woman on the inescapable nature of Blackness in this country:

> They can scream at our Sally, but she know shy, and she's not surprised. She knows that even when they stop screaming, she'll have whispers, and after them the stares. It'll be with her for life... We tell our children that, so by the time they have children they'll know how to prepare them... It takes a lot of <u>preparing</u> before you can let a child loose in a white world. If you're black in Louisiana it's like cloudy weather; you don't see the sun much.

Coles' citation mandates that the Black family teach Black children that even though whites will try to instill in them feelings of guilt, shame, inferiority, they must reject these labels for they are worthy of love, respect and protection.

They are, in fact, as Jesse Jackson suggests, "somebody." To fit these Black child developmental crises into current schemes, ala Erikson et al, is to deny social reality.

Claude Brown in Manchild articulates that reality:

> Hello, Claude; how are you? and shook my hand and smiled, I had the feeling that God had been kicked right out of heaven and the meek were lost. And when he started talking to me not really talking to me, just saying the stupid things that white people say to little colored boys with a smile on their faces, and the little colored boys are supposed to smile too--nothing in the world could have made me believe that cat was on our side. We weren't even people to him, so how the hell was he going to fight our fight? I wanted to ask Dad why he went and got this guy but I knew why. He thought all Jews were smart. I could have gotten all that shit right out of his head. Anybody could see that this cat wasn't so smart. No, he was just lucky--lucky that the world had dumb niggers like Dad in it.

Proceeding from our situated/accumulating creatures framework, we argue that developmental crises for Blacks must be placed in a historical perspective to adequately understand their development. This historical perspective has six periods thus far, though others may emerge. This is to say, these stages are not fixed. The stages are:

Era of Objectification

Era of Segregation

Era of Common Oppression

Era of Assimilation

Era of Black Indignation

Era of Black is Beautiful

The Historical Stages

Era of Objectification

Black people originated in Africa. Africans developed a musical style using instruments, voice, and dance. They wrote poetry. Their ceremonies were ritualistic. They established colleges, a trade system, and various philosophies concerning man and his relationship to nature and to the spiritual. In short, Africans had a social system. Black people in America came from that social system to slavery.

In the era of objectifications the strategy was an attempt to deny the existence of the social system that Blacks brought with them. Blacks were treated by whites as things, or property to be slaughtered, bought, sold and breeded. Consequently, Black families had to teach their children to resist mal treatment and mistreatment. The crisis for black children during this period was to remain human in the face of the oppressor who raped mothers, killed father and beat brother, sister or friend. The constant process of losing fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, friends and other relatives, could only be handled by learning to blunt feelings. Frederick Douglas describes the process of objectification.

> My mother and I were separated when I was but an infant--before I knew her as my mother. It is a common custom, in the part of Maryland from which I ran away, to part children from their mothers at a very early age. Frequently, before the child has reached its twelfth month, its mother is taken from it, and hired on some farm a considerable distance

> off, and the child is placed under the care of an old woman, too old for field labor. For what this separation is done, I do not know, unless it be to hinder the development of the child's affection toward its mother, and to blunt and destroy the natural affection of the mother for the child. This is the inevitable result.

The crisis and the challenges, then, was to resist the process of objectification. In other words, Blacks had to develop processes to retain some of their humanity. Blunting intimacy feelings was one such strategy. Further, to retain their humanity, Black children had to be taught that, although whites played the role of providers and masters, they were not to be worshipped. In a democracy, objectification could not stand for it creates dissonance that demands reduction. The Era of Segregation thus followed.

Era of Segregation

Objectification led to a blunting of feelings; segregation led to a focus on "living" or "dying." The period began officially with what some call the nigger compromise - the election of Rutherford B. Hayes and the withdrawal of Federal troops. The task for the family during this period was to teach children to repress anger, or murderous impulses toward whites when they read signs which said "no niggers allowed." Other recurring developmental crises were those

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It should be noted that the movement from a predominately Black community to a predominantly white campus paralells in many respects the historical development of Blacks. The question: can the stages be avoided?

resulting from the disjunction of technically free blacks who yet were still slaves, with their "master" feeling less responsibility for them.

To cope, Blacks developed "conning," "shucking," and "jiving" strategies. Black children were consequently taught to be humble as an appropriate "con". They were taught to reaffirm the preogatives of whites in addressing whites as Sir or Mr. as a "con." While the appearance of inferiority was a part of a Black strategy based on conning in the Era of Segregation, how to survive was the question of the moment. Indeed, in order to survive Black children had to learn to be con men (pimps), now referred to as "Uncle Toms." We prefer to call these Blacks "survival people" or just plain smart good managers. In fact, without the survival people, black colleges would have never been born. In all probability, without the survival people the Klu Klux Klan would have wiped the black man out of existence, just as the Army wiped the Indians out of existence behind the phrase, "the only good nigger is a dead nigger." Daisey Bates, a survivalist, puts it succintly in describing the struggle at Little Rock:

> He dropped to his knees in front of me, placed his hands on my shoulders, and began shaking me and shouting. 'Can't you understand what I've been saying?' he demanded. 'There's nothing I can do! If I went down to the market I would only cause trouble for my family.' As I looked at my daddy sitting by me with tears in his eyes, I blurted out innocently, 'Daddy, are you afraid?' He sprang to his feet in an anger I had never seen before. 'Hell no! I'm not afraid for myself, I'm not afraid to die. I could go down to that market and tear him limb from limb with my bare hands, but I'm afraid for you and your mother.'

Price and Cobbs state it another way:

> Child-rearing among slaves was never allowed to get beyond the crucial issue of survival. At all times, all slaves were in danger of their lives, and only their thorough knowledge of slavehood offered them a chance of survival. Whatever else was taught the child, it was taught in the context of survival instructions. Black mothers say as they punish rebellious sons: 'I'd rather kill him myself than let those white folks get him. He's got to learn.'

Beyond this crisis children in this era had to learn how to defer gratification and to look for rewards later on--"set not your sights on earthly things." Thus, when someone suggests that blacks need immediate gratification, that they don't have a sense of the future, that they live for the here and now, it is clear that these people do not understand the black experience. There is a distinct difference between delaying gratification and taking that which is yours from someone who wants to keep it for himself.

Further, during this historical period, Black children had to learn to make their community joyous even though they were oppressed. This joy, humor, and rhythm was built into their spirituals, their jazz, their blues, their dancing, their parties, their night clubs and their work, menial as it was. They learned to develop a secret joy to take ridicule with a smile pretending to be very dependent on the white man; yet, in fact, they were slick, devious, cunning and skilled in using their wits to survive. This period persisted through to the mid 20th century, but it appeared to be modified by the period of Common Oppression: World War 1, The

Depression, World War II, and Korea.

Era of Common Oppression

During this period, social upheavals international and national had a common impact necessitating the mobilization of all Americans lest all Americans be destroyed. Race and social class both took a back seat to the "common intruders. The wars generated good jobs for all. The external enemy of the two world wars bound Blacks and whites together to fight though their lives remained separate.* The depression put everyone in the soup line. In a search for hope, Black organizations were born. The NAACP won legal battles against segregation culminating with the 1954 Supreme Court decision banning segregated schools. The Harlem rennaisance produced writers, musicians, and other developments held out hope and kept the Black community alive, moving, and glowing. The New Ideal suggested a great "getting up morning." Roosevelt had a "Black cabinet." Focus on the common enemy: Germany, Japan, North Korea, Communism and the Depression dominated the issue of skin color, class, or sex. The period suggest a racial/socio-economic, sexual negotiated peace. This period of common oppression and common hope prepared Blacks for the Era of Assimilation.

Era of Assimilation

What is called the historic Supreme Court Decision of 1954 ushered this period in. Little or no attention was

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* In Common Oppression, the issue of oppression took precedence over the issue of segregation which was still extant.

paid to the developmental crisis. In fact, it was thought that the preceding period had led to a reconstructed white, and a self-defining Black; but as is our thesis, man is a product of his past. The developmental crisis for Black children who couldn't blend so as to diminish their difference was to develop strategies to blend. They couldn't then and can't now; the black badge of courage just doesn't fade. But Blacks, with the help of whites, began to teach black children that, in order to get ahead, they had to be as close to white as possible. Black folks began to opt for integrated schools; they saw themselves living in integrated neighborhoods, eating in integrated restaurants, going to integrated theatres. They even attempted to pass for whites. What Blacks failed to understand in their passing was the cost that they paid for attempting to be white. To become white meant a mass denial of African heritage. "I'm an American," was the cry of Black youth in this era. "Don't smile too wide or laugh too loud," was the admonition Black children received from their parents or surrogates. Advertisments for hair straightening and bleaching cream products appeared in Black magazines.

> It is against this endless circle of shame, humiliation, and the implied unacceptability of one's own person that a small but significant number of black women have turned to the "natural hairdo"; no hot irons, no pressing combs, no oils, but a soft, black gentle cloche of cropped velvet. The effect is so engaging and feminine, and, in light of the above,

> so psychologically redemptive, that we can only wonder why it has taken them so long, and why even yet there are so few.

Black females wore girdles to become flat like white females. Kinky hair became "bad" hair. Black females were taught not to bring home "coal black niggers." Light skin was a prize -black skin a curse. Tarzan was a Saviour of Blacks. We contend the major crisis for Black children was not the Oedipal situation, sibling rivalry, penis envy, or castration fear, rather, the crisis, the trauma, was how to blend--how to disappear into the woodwork. No other children in this country ever faced such a developmental task--"to grow white in a black body." Dubois described it as the sensation of this two-ness. Like objectification the dissonance generated by living double had to give way to something else. It did, Black Anger.

Era of Black Indignation and Anger

Rosa Parks, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and Stokely Carmichael shaped the period of Black Indignation and Anger. The crisis of this era was for Black children to decide for personal freedom or psychological death. In other words, the choice was to live as a broken spirit or to die proudly by fighting. During this era, Black children began to be taught not to repress anger and aggression in the face of white oppression. Blacks began to see anger as functional and as an emotion which did not have to be repressed or sublimated. Black youth began to sit-in, to ride-in, to wade-in, and to employ school boycotts and economic boycotts.

Children were taught heaven is here on earth--take it. They had to come to grips with the fact that acceptance and respect were and are not given by whites. They were taught how important it was to stand up and be counted. Black children in this period moved shakily from being reactors and survivors to self-defined warriors. Charles Hamilton writes:

> Expressive violence is what we have experienced in this country since July, 1964, when masses of people explode out of frustration and rage in a flurry of looting and destruction of property. Such expressive violence waxes and wanes, depending as much on the weather as on anything else (and often takes on an atmosphere of fun and frolic). But expressive violence must be contrasted with instrumental violence, which does not burn a random liquor-or furniture-store, but destroys a communication system. It is not casual sniping at policemen and firemen, but selective retaliation. Instrumental violence does not wax and wane with the weather, but builds sanctuaries of support in the black community, or, in other parts of the world, in the village. This is guerilla warfare; and it is highly disciplined. The United States is, clearly, one of the luckiest of countries in having the kind of massive oppression which exists, and only expressive violence. However, as the society procrastinates in dealing with the causes of expressive violence, it will surely have to come to terms with instrumental violence.

But the period of anger generated a self-definition based on the honky, the pig. It was similar to the white man's self-definition built on "niggers." A few activists realized that getting one's self together on this basis could only lead to self-destruction. Remove the honky; remove yourself. Hence, the Black is Beautiful era.

Era of Black is Beautiful

In Black is Beautiful, the present period, the crisis is to re-define black existence. As accumulating creatures,

Black people bring, of course at varying levels of significance and impact, a history of blunted intimacy feelings, conning strategies, suspicion stemming from the hoax of common oppression and assimilation and anger. This is the backdrop for a period which calls for, among other things, Blacks to deal openly and genuinely with Blacks. So the question of the period is how do you help Blacks with this accumulation to not deal with other Blacks using this accumulation. Several ideas come to mind in this regard. Children must be (1) moored in their African heritage, (2) taught to give up the notion of assimilating and move toward self-definition, and (3) taught to strive for a radical psychological unity. (The Jewish model might be instructive in this latter regard.) Fanon speaks to Black psychological unity in "Black Skin, White Masks."

> What! When it was I who had every reason to hate, to despise, I was rejected? When I should have been begged, implored, I was denied the slightest recognition? I resolved, since it was impossible for me to get away from an inborn complex, to assert myself as a BLACK MAN. Since the other hesitated to recognize me, there remained only one solution: to make myself known.

We would add to make myself known in communion with others like me.

Black children in this era must be taught not to use the con ethic on those in the black community, but to use it as a strategy against the oppressor. Moreover, black males and females must learn that they must handle intimacy in a different way or else they will continue to be destructive

to each other. Additionally, black children must be taught to strive for a radical unity which will break down unhealthy class- and status-dividing walls since the only relevant divider for Blacks is color. In other words, since Black folk are defined similarly, they consequently must be Black first and other things thereafter. This means Blacks must stop hating themselves and begin loving themselves. They must retain their sense of humanity and their ability to find joy in relationships with people and their work. Blacks must continue to feel at home with their bodies. To do all of this necessitates a redefinition of the white, middle-class value Blacks chased in Assimilation

Implications of the Framework

What is consistent throughout each of the periods? Since the coming of Blacks, the issue between the blenders (whites) and the non-blenders (Blacks) has been an attempt by the non-blenders to define their rights and perogatives, vis a vis the rights and preogatives of whites--specifically:

1. During objectification whites defined Blacks in ways to suggest that Blacks had no rights.

2. During segregation, whites defined Blacks as having limited rights. Those rights were limited to the Black community. Outside of that community those rights were unavailable. The grant of rights, though, led to a demand for further rights.

3. During common oppression the question was not rights for blacks or whites; it was sheer survival for both. Yet both remained segregated.

4. During assimilation, whites defined Blacks as having certain rights in white America, e.g., the right to attend school with whites, the right to public accommodations, the right to vote, if, however, Blacks would or could be white.

5. During indignation, Blacks, enmasse, began to say whites have no perogatives to define Black "rights."

6. Now in Black is Beautiful, Blacks are saying whites have no perogative to define on what terms Blacks shall deal or live.

Throughout, each period has resulted in some adjustment of the rights/perogative equation between Black and whites. This self-defining by Blacks, with a concommitant loss of white perogatives to define Black existence, represents the crux of the developmental crises that occurs in settings where Blacks and whites meet such as schools, colleges, the military, and even in the business community. Without this basic right, Blacks will be no more than puppets. Thus, Blacks must continue to define themselves. At the same time, each white parent must teach his children that it is no longer a perogative of whites to define Black existence. The old order giveth way to a new... If this is not done, there will be continuous clashes and crises in settings where Blacks and whites meet on common turf. If we return to an examination of Freud and Erikson in light of this discussion, it becomes clear that sexuality is perhaps only one guiding developmental

crisis for Blacks in America.*

The six eras presented are not presented as finished stages that outline the individual development of Black individuals from infancy through adulthood. Rather, they are a framework which suggests that whatever developmental scheme is used, the struggle for "rights" must be a part of its major thrust. Moreover, developmental crises are continuous; they are not primarily structured into adolescence as suggested by Freud and Erikson. For Blacks thus far, sexuality is dominated by a push to define Black rights, i.e., to resist objectification, to find self-esteem out of defining Black existence.

The Implications of the Analysis for Existence on a White Campus

If we switch to the existence of Blacks on white campuses, we would suggest that if history is forgotten, most Blacks who come from a black community will go through a mini process that will replicate the stages articulated herein. Robert Gilbert, Air Force cadet, speaking in Ebony suggests how the mini process begins even in 1972. "The tension was so high and the anger was becoming more overt. Other cadets would call us 'boy' and 'nigger.' You'd see Confederate flags in the dormitory windows."

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*If sexuality is an issue at all, it is the result of a lack of Black males beyond age 15. Jacquelyn Jackson writes about the situation in her article Where Are the Black Men? The implied question: how do women handle a scarce resource (Black men) in a monogamous yet heterosexual racist society?

Hamilton and Johnson would suggest that dealing with the mini process is too costly in terms of the Black energy it will drain. One step in avoiding the triggering of the mini process is to avoid the labeling of Black students on admission, e.g., regular admits vs. special admits.* This is just a new language for an old label: field slaves and house slaves--a language that thrusts Blacks into the historical process and its teachings.

Additionally, given accumulation, a process must be developed which facilitates communication between Blacks so that Blacks will be resources for each other. Bell describes this as a process to develop radical unity. Not to do so can only lead to further isolation. Willie describes this isolation syndrome and Hamilton confirms it.

Isolation will reduce the effectiveness of Blacks in a white academic setting in two ways: isolation will lead to a <u>defensive</u> posture as opposed to an <u>offensive</u> posture--which is important if Blacks are to circumvent the mini process. To act defensively leads Blacks to act neutrally. To act neutrally is to run the risk of being ignored, e.g., "you're just like us or there is no black problem here." Alternatively, a Black might act as super-nigger. This, too, is a path of impossibility. Who is super?

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*At Carnegie-Mellon University the process is begun through classification of C-MAP students and non-C-MAP students. At the University of Pittsburgh the same is true. There are Tri-M, DSP, UCEP, and regularly admitted students.

Hence, we argue to maximize a focus of energy in the classroom where there will be a major conflict owing to differential academic preparation in high school requires a Black person to act offensively so as to avoid the energy-drain by adapting to the historical process which, when telescoped, becomes a mini process. Blacks learning to act offensively on a white campus is not enough.

They must also learn to help each other. To do this, though, they must work through the effects of the historical accumulation on Blacks. In short, they must deal with what Chester Pierce describes as pro-racist (black/black) behavior. This behavior is energy-draining, but, more importantly, it is behavior which tends to be divisive. Working these divisive encursions through, along with the offensive posture, is essential to Black students if they are to move to a mature existence in an "alien" environment. To do these things, awareness programs using a group model, would seem appropriate. Awareness would focus on these issues:

1. Blacks must be helped to realize that their ties are to Africa. It is clear that a sense of past leads to a healthy identity in one's present and future. It is for these reasons that we keep pictures of our grandparents, great grandparents past accomplishments, placed we once lived, etc. Blacks must establish their past beyond the shores of America. Man is a historical being, and, as such, he embeds himself simultaneously in the past, present and future. In

order to have a healthy sense of self in the present, one must become at home with his past. Denial begins the defensive posture, yet an offensive posture is needed. If a program serving blacks does not deal with the tendency to deny Africa it is failing to promote a sense of healthy, offensive self-esteem and, as such, is designed to keep blacks in shackles rather than bring them to maturity.

2. Blacks must be helped to deal with Black intra distinctions emergent because of their historical past. These distinctions began during slavery when whites made such distinctions as "House Slaves" and "Field Slaves." In its present form these distinctions are in the form of "regular students" and "special students." There still persists the feeling that light-skinned blacks are better looking than dark skinned blacks. Some new distinction which comes from the same historical base are "grass roots Blacks" vs. educated or middle class vs. militants vs. Uncle Toms, vs. lower class vs. niggers. Who coined these phrases? Offensive whites coined them. Any program which does not have activities geared toward helping black youth, particularly on white campuses, to avoid these distinctions which can only serve to divide rather than unify does not speak to one of the highest priorities among the Black community - radical unity. Indeed, if blacks are about the business of building unity, there must be consciously planned activity to get beyond these distinctions.

3. Because of the blunting of intimacy during objectification, intimacy patterns among blacks must be examined. by Blacks. This examination must be done across heterosexual relationships since patterns between Black males and females must be worked out as well as patterns between males and males and females and females. The theoretical models of Freuds et al. developed from a group of Victorian-age whites cannot serve as the paradigm for therapeutic practice in this examination. (Whether it is to apply to a predominantly black day-care center or the functioning of Blacks on a white campus.) The failure of the Carnegie-Mellon Action Project to realize at the onset this historical accumulation has led to a situation whereby Black students who are their own most important resource are failing to be so because they don't communicate with each other. They have superstar, parasitic and male/female hassles, all of which originate from the black experience. Eldridge Cleaver articulates the problem this way:

> Two days later, I had a "nervous breakdown." For several days I ranted and raved against the white race, against white women in particular, against white America in general. When I came to myself, I was locked in a padded cell with not even the vaguest memory of how I got there. All I could recall was an eternity of pacing back and forth in the cell, preaching to the unhearing walls.
>
> I had several sessions with a psychiatrist. His conclusion was that I hated my mother. How he arrived at this conclusion I'll never know, because he knew nothing about my mother; and when he'd ask me questions I would answer him with absurd lies. What revolted me about him was that he had heard me denouncing the whites, yet each time he interviewed me he deliberately guided the conversation

> back to my family life, to my childhood. That in itself was all right, but he deliberately blocked all my attempts to bring out the racial question, and he made it clear that he was not interested in my attitudes toward whites. This was a Pandora's box he did not care to open.
>
> Rape was an insurrectionary act. It delighted me that I was defying and trampling upon the white man's law, upon his system of values, and that I was defiling his women-- and this point, I believe, was the most satisfying to me because I was very resentful over the historical fact of how the white man has used the black woman. I felt I was getting revenge. From the site of the act of rape, consternation spreads outwardly in concentric circles. I wanted to send waves of consternation throughout the white race.

Pro-racist behavior, then, must be dealt with on a black campus as well. As a colleague describes the situation, "If you think being a black professor at a white university is tough, try being a black professor at a black university."

Summary

This new perspective, a situated/accumulating creature, suggest the need for a redefinition of "developmental crisis." Not to do so is to deny the Black man as a situated/accumulating creature. He is. To deny this social reality to blacks--a culturally different people-- is even more devastating because black strengths are denied, while black deficiencies--cultural disadvantage--are highlighted.

A few of these strengths might be appropriate with which to conclude:

1. Blacks feel at home with their bodies and mind. Unfortunately, whites have let them use their bodies (athletics)

but have put up strong resistance to any movement or attempts by blacks to use their minds. However, as viewed by the authors, blacks are holistic in that they are comfortable viewing body and mind as a total, integrated system.

2. Blacks have a sense of humor which permeates their work, their interpersonal relationships and, as such, even in suffering they tend to see hope.

3. Blacks are in touch with their feelings. They are expressive in their orientation to life. Thus, they are able to express feelings as well as deal with the expression of feelings by others.

4. The con ethic--management at base--which was developed as a strategy for survival has become a way of life for many Blacks. This management expertise must be recognized as legitimate--although redirected so that Blacks don't only manage Blacks, but whites as well.

Finally, because of the black oral tradition, Blacks have the ability to project themselves through the use of the spoken word. It is quite clear that Blacks have been writing, too, for a long time. It has been only recently, though, that Black poets, writers and scholars have been published on a national basis. Although Blacks must continue to push for the right to be heard through the written word, Blacks must be careful that they don't become so caught up in the written word that they lose the ability to project themselves

through the spoken word. Any school system or process from elementary through higher education that does not utilize and promote this oral strength among Blacks is by lack of reinforcement trying to make this skill extinct. In other words, it is still robbing and objectifying Blacks in 1972, some 400 years later.

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